May 1954

Fellowship

ROBERT MOON *Evangelist*

30¢

Africa—What Can One Do? *by Patrick Duncan*

ff Bob Moon thinks the Christian Church offers a challenging field for evangelists, pacifist evangelists, that is. In our lead article, entitled appropriately *The Pacifist Evangelist,* he suggests how pacifists can help church people gain confidence in a constructive alternative to war. . . . Patrick Duncan, courageous friend of colored Africans of the Union of South Africa, tells concerned Americans (just one step removed from the concerned Britishers he's *really* addressing) what they can do to fight for justice for the colored and for peace in that frightened land. . . . Hugh Faulkner, who visited us last fall when he was still Organizing Secretary for the British Fellowship, relates his impressions of the American scene, both psychological and political. . . . We asked Dan West to review Alexandra Tolstoy's recently-published massive biography of her father. He sent us such an extensive work that we are running it as an article. *Tolstoy: Giant of Peace* reminds us of the turbulent, truth-seeking life of this important social prophet. . . . News, book reviews and letters included as usual.

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Revolt

If the will to revolt has not permanently atrophied in the American people, the events of the past two months have surely provided a more valid justification for rebellion than history ever has seen before. This is not simply oppression of a people, or the denial of freedom by a dictator: this is the deliberate juggling of a force that even in its experimental stages has the potentiality of making vast sections of the globe, if not the entire earth itself, uninhabitable. That the outcry of protest has not been even greater is a measure of the almost psychopathic fear of Russia that has taken possession of an indeterminate fraction of the American public and about 99% of its political leadership and press. Even this organized hysteria, however, is less and less able to disguise the absurdity of trying to "defend freedom" by means that will certainly destroy the civilized organization of society and perhaps all life itself.

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Optimism

There may actually be more reason for hope since the H-bomb explosions than there was before. There are signs that the spectacle of a single bomb more powerful than all the bombs dropped by both sides during the entire Second World War is shocking articulate and thoughtful people into more penetrating comments than the usual "We will if they will" disarmament talks.

Thus while the influential *New York Times* continues its careful genuflections before the idea that the H-bomb is "deterring" Russia, and the *Boston Herald* sees no paradox in advising that "We must keep negotiating for disarmament and peace, but we must also keep building up our strength," the press is also publishing comments that are more forthright. Author Lewis Mumford had a long letter in the *Times* challenging the whole idea of waging war in such times as these, and pointing out that even the "worst alternative," a temporary domination by Communist totalitarianism, is preferable to the wiping out of all life on the planet.

". . . Retaliation," wrote Mumford, "is not protection; . . . total extermination of both sides is not victory; . . . a constant state of morbid fear, suspicion and hatred is not security. . . ."

A few days later Professor David Kirk raised some of the same questions in the same newspaper, pointing out that "we are marching into a terrible doom. I mean not only the doom of physical destruction of our civilization and of life itself, but of those cherished values of personal responsibility which we are so careful to proclaim abroad."

A writer in the *New York Post* went still deeper:

"We have the power to retaliate with an H-bomb if attacked by an H-bomb," he wrote. "But do we have the moral strength to *not* retaliate with an H-bomb if attacked by an H-bomb? . . . I can face being wiped off the face of the earth; what I can't face is being individually responsible for killing millions of other people. If that is the price of 'freedom,' you lose it trying to keep it."

Even George E. Sokolsky, not noted as one of the most sensitive of commentators, referring to the theory of "retaliation" wrote: "Such retaliation may be a fascinating study for those who are planning it, but what about the 8 million people of New York who would be killed? And what would become of our civilization under such circumstances?"

It seems unlikely that political leadership will offer much hope in the coming days, but it is barely possible that the conscience of the American people, almost buried under the weight of fear and confusion, may be about to reassert itself.

CD

There is a macabre humor about the plight of the Civil Defense authorities in the aftermath of the H-bomb explosions. Serious men in white plastic helmets with little pamphlets explaining how to cover the back of your neck with your hands have been pretty funny right along when contrasted with the destructive force of even the puny little A-bomb; in the terrible glow of the H-bomb most of their efforts are ludicrously irrelevant.

With a few days to recover from the news of the March 1 explosion, CD directors for New York and New Jersey issued a reassuring statement to the effect that the H-bomb had not changed the civil defense problem—it had just made it "bigger." The statement sounded less candid than the horrified immediate reaction of New York City's CD director. Acknowledging that the new bomb made all plans for shelters "ancient history," Director O'Brien added: "It is a fantastic thought, but God knows, with the latest news from Washington, evacuation is the only solution." Since the very best estimate of the time required to evacuate New York's eight million people is three days, with the Air Force predicting a maximum warning of one hour, the "only solution" sounds a little inadequate.

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Surplus

Not at all irrelevant to the problem of the bomb is another problem the government is facing these days: that of finding places to store the surplus of grain owned by the government. The Catholic Association for International Peace points out that seventy-five ships of the "mothball fleet" are already loaded with grain and that the Department of Agriculture has just arranged to fill 180 more, plus "almost any type of available space, from wartime hangars and barracks to empty garages." Says the CAIP restrainedly: "The Christian conscience is saddened by the embarrassing surpluses of American agricultural products when a large proportion of the world's population suffers from undernourishment or malnutrition."

Effective

"The Army's Chemical Corps said today that there were several forms of so-called nerve gas. They are without color and without smell.

" 'The inhaled vapor from as few as three drops would prove fatal to a human being in about four minutes,' the corps added. '. . . the nerve gases are designed to destroy life with suddenness. . . .' "

—AP dispatch, March 27, 1954.

* * *

"The facts about nerve gas do not justify the horror weapon name so often used to describe it. It can be a highly effective and potent military weapon when used under the proper conditions."

—Col. S. J. Efnor, acting commandant of the Rocky Mountain arsenal where nerve gas is being manufactured.
New York Times, March 28, 1954.

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Quotables

"It does no good to reach the point where we would be able to wipe out an enemy twenty times over if he reaches the point where he can wipe us out just once."

—Former AEC Chairman Gordon Dean,
London Times, June 27, 1953

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"It is a war of nerves. Neither side can be quite sure that the other, through the ingenuity of its scientists, may not develop some really winning weapon and use it to end an intolerable situation. . . . In providing nations with the kind of weapons which, in easily attainable numbers, could be used to wipe out civilization as we know it we are, in effect, putting poison into the hands of irresponsible children. . . ."

—Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale, F.R.S.,
in *Security and Responsibility*.

The Pacifist Evangelist

by Robert Moon

O THOSE of us who know that pacifism is an inherent part of e Christian gospel and of Chris- n history, the Christian church today offers a challenging field evangelism. Thoughtful people erywhere can see that the time s come to be rid of war, and oughtful people in the churches e willing to explore the ways in ich Christian love can be applied world affairs.

The great majority of our fel- vs know that war cannot bring ace, but they cannot quite believe at another way will work. This the source of the tension of our es. We can help people find con- ence in a better way than war.

Like all good evangelists, the cifist evangelist must be properly ipped. In addition to the ortho- x requirements of personal con- tion and a coherent theology, he st have certain other qualifica- ns:

He must believe in freedom of science. Every man must make his own peace with the truth, and we who are conscientious objectors must believe in the right of other men to conscientiously object to our position. This means that we cannot say to someone else, "You've got to be a pacifist." We don't catch flies with that kind of vinegar anyway, but that attitude is basically incompatible with our belief that no organization, no institution, no state, no church, no man has a right to coerce someone else's conscience.

This belief in freedom of conscience is particularly essential in view of the nature of the tensions within which we live. Our prospects will not be afraid of us if they know that we are not going to insist that they believe the way we do. This attitude helps us to keep the lines of communication open to those who disagree with us.

It will be helpful if the pacifist evangelist is thoroughly oriented in world affairs. He must be famil-

iar with history and with the dynamics of the present historical situation. There are among us those we believe that we do not have to be able to prove that pacifism is politically practical. However, whether we believe them or not, we all have to be able to give some answers that will satisfy those who are misinformed and those who will ask "What would happen if . . ." Some of our most fruitful prospects are among those who are already interested in world affairs. Our appeal will be stronger if we are well informed in this area of knowledge.

The pacifist evangelist must be pacifist in his methods. He should not use verbal or psychological violence on his prospects, but should be an example of the loving method he is endeavoring to sell.

No Compromise

It helps if the pacifist evangelist is well-rounded, mature, and fairly orthodox in other matters. His prospects may think that he is "schizoceramic" (a crackpot) with regard to pacifism; but if he is easily identified with other of their interests, he may more easily earn their interest and respect for his pacifism. He should be careful, however, that this orthodoxy in other matters does not lead him into compromise.

The pacifist minister has many precious opportunities to win converts to the cause, and he should use them well.

His preaching on this topic should be unequivocal. It should reveal his convictions and not his compromise.

A young pacifist minister once said to me he couldn't preach pacifism until he got a larger church. He felt that it was easier for those in the larger churches to preach forthrightly on this and other topics. I am confident that with that attitude he will never earn the right to preach to larger congregations. It is just as certain that if he ever did get a large church he wouldn't preach pacifism there either. Pacifism is not easier to preach in larger churches. It is easier only for those who do it forthrightly and fearlessly from first to last.

Our preaching should be something more than just occasional potshots thrown in with a sermon on another topic. Regularly we should devote entire sermons to the subject of pacifism. The most satisfying preaching in this area that I have done was a series of three successive sermons on the church and war. The first sermon developed our pacifist heritage in the New Testament and in history. The second was concerned with what the church should and should not do today in a world headed for war's destruction. The third outlined a positive pacifist program for achieving peace.

We do not need to be cautious in our preaching just because there are servicemen in our congregations. They frequently are the most appreciative hearers we have.

A Good Start

The minister has another opportunity in his contacts with new church members. I deliberately tell the people at our training classes for new members that I am a pacifist. I tell them what that means. Then together we study some of the implications of applying *agape* to our daily lives. Almost without exception, new members are responsive and respectful of this approach.

We can organize study courses. hen Robert Hutchins said a short me ago that we don't have time educate children on how to live ith the atom—we must educate dults—he placed a large share of ie responsibility for adult educa- on on the churches. Adult seminar urses, book reviews by church embers, and guest speakers—all n bring before our people the acifist challenge.

The pacifist minister has another recious privilege in counseling oung people. During the last ten ears we have watched each suc- ssive class of young people be- me more conservative than the st. Yet they can still be chal- nged. Every year our summer outh institute produces a signifi- nt number of pacifists.

These are some of the things a acifist minister can do. I wish I ould justifiably boast or promise at this kind of a program pro- uces large numbers of converts to acifism. It doesn't. The number of dults we win is small. But we nsistently win tolerance and re- ect for the pacifist position. The riter served for over eight years minister of a church just four ocks from an elaborate army post at the Presidio in San Francisco. Aggressive pushing of the program outlined above led to my being labeled as a militant pacifist. Yet during that time the church grew steadily in influence and size, multiplying its membership five times. There are many people seeking a more hopeful and promising answer to international tension than our statesmen have found.

Layman's Work

The pacifist layman, too, in his own way can be an evangelist. *One thing he can do is to work on his minister.* There do not seem to be any bright and successful ways to convert non-pacifist ministers. We had some results from a letter mailed out to a list of ministers whom we believed to be near-pacifists, inviting them to join the FOR. Generally speaking, we ministers are stubborn.

If your minister is not a pacifist, give him a book or two to read every year. Do not give him too many as he already has a heavy study program. Among the books helpful for this purpose are: Muste, *Not By Might;* Rutenber, *The Dagger and the Cross;* Jones, *The*

The Author

Bob Moon has broken the rule that our writers tell us about themselves (we ask them to) either in too many, or in too few words. "I am a native Californian," he writes, "graduated from the University of Cal. with a degree in economics in 1937. I worked for 6 years with General Electric Company in Schenectady, New York, and Ashland, Mass. In 1943 the factory where I was working started producing bomb fuses and I enrolled at Boston University School of Theology where I graduated in 1945. For 8½ years I served the Park Presidio United Church in San Francisco. I am now minister of the First Methodist Church of San Leandro. . . . That is enough." Now, how did HE know?

Church, The Gospel and War. Ask him for a chance to discuss the book with him when he has read it.

Whether or not the minister is a pacifist, you can undergird the good and constructive things he does. You will have many opportunities to support him. Get other lay people interested, build up support for study courses, encourage others to attend lectures.

Use the official pronouncements of the church. Most of the major denominations and the National Council of Churches have adopted significant statements concerning conscientious objectors and the church and war. These often provide good materials for study courses.

Surely this is a time for pacifists to stand up and be counted. Half-hearted witness and weasel-worded preaching won't do. Norman Cousins in *Modern Man Is Obsolete* put it this way:

> *There comes to mind a scene from one of the old silent films. An outcast, lost somewhere in a mountainous forest, stands on th edge of a canyon. Behind hi rages a forest fire, drawing eve closer. In front of him is a shee drop of several hundred fee But the gap across this canyo to the other side is only ten fe wide. Only ten feet! He has n choice but to try . . .*
>
> *Mankind today is involved i a somewhat similar predicamen It would be comforting to believ that we could leisurely build footbridge across the gap. I would be comforting to believ that time is working in our favo or that the fire has changed its di rection. But it happens that w cannot just take a step forwar but must jump. It happens tha the longer we delay the les space we shall have for a run ning leap. It happens that if w wait too long we shall face th disadvantage of jumping from stationary position. Perhaps w have never jumped ten feet be fore. But under the circumstance that is the poorest of all reason not to try.*

Letting Military Men Retire

"Yes, I would rest them all, whether they are white, red, dark or yellow. For their own sake rest them all. They are tired and sick and worn. I am telling you, rest them for Eternity's sake, for God's sake. They have marred His image. Yes," he even began to stress more severely on this matter, "I am telling you this war business and running militaristic adventures is sure a hard and tiresome task. And all of these lords of war games are a tired lot and they need a big rest. Send them all to sanitariums, beaches and mountain resorts, and they may recuperate from their awful sickness of man's inhumanity to man and become useful citizens. . . ."

P. N. Malov in
Autumn '53 Meditations

AFRICA-

What can one do?

Patrick Duncan

The son of a former Governor-General of the Union of South Africa addresses friends outside the Union who are interested in helping solve the African color problem. We are indebted to the International Fellowship for permission to carry this message.

EOPLE ARE OFTEN asking what can be done about Africa, done,. that and not just talked. I think the swer is both easy and hard. Re-ests are easy to make and diffi-lt to grant.

I am going to assume that you ree with me that the present mination of nearly all of Africa the small white racial group is d, that color discrimination is d, and that an early liberation of e people so that the continent ay be governed by Africans (both hite and non-white) is good.

Now if these things are correct, d if the great disunity and weak-ss of the peoples of Africa are alized, then the difficulties of the hole situation become manifest. ow are the unfree peoples to re-ze their freedom? They have tle political power. If they do thing it will be assumed that ey willingly accept their lack of eedom. What can they do?

In my view the choice is broadly tween violence and non-violence between Mau-Mau and the re-strained, disciplined, and far more successful campaign here in 1952. I have confidence that the pattern of African liberation will be set by us here and not by the Mau-Mau, and it is most important that this should be so. It is clear what we living in this continent ought to do.

It is perhaps less clear what those living outside Africa ought to do. I shall try to explain what I think they ought to do —and this will inevitably be in the nature of a request for help. I think that our very weakness does entitle us to make such requests, and the volume of over-

seas spoken support encourages me to think that material help will also be forthcoming.

In any case, people here and abroad seem to me to be growing tired of merely talking. They want to do something.

Africa Grows Up

I think that there are two main aims which the peoples of Africa have, and in which they are entitled to ask for assistance. Firstly, they wish to enter the world-civilization as the Japanese did a hundred years ago. Secondly, they wish to govern themselves, to make their own mistakes and their own successes. You can help in both aims.

You can help firstly and mainly by prayer.

Materially you can also help Africans to enter the world-civilization. Money and men can be given to African education. Millions are still illiterate. All over the continent there is a thirst for books. Anyone who wishes to give his time or money can help through any of the African mission societies, who are largely responsible for education. Dedicated people who wish to help can be of the greatest assistance by giving money or their services. This is possibly the greatest thing that could be done. Others might found schools and colleges in Africa. Others might invite African boys to Europe and America for them to learn, as young Japanese learnt during the nineteenth century, the technics of the world-civilization, not only in the schools, but also in the factories.

South Africa is the citadel of color-caste. Other countries may allow discrimination, but profess (the tribute paid by vice to virtue) to dislike it. My country's offici view is that color-caste systems ar good systems, that color of skin i an indication of civilization, tha colors ought to be separated, an that white ought always, for th next thousand years at any rat to be in control of non-white. No since this system is internal t South Africa, and since under th idea of the nation-state and als under the United Nations Charte it is not proper for persons fro without to concern themselves wit what goes on within, it is a matte of some delicacy to know what t do to help those South African working against the color-cast idea and to convert those workin for it. I would like to make th following suggestions.

"River of Emancipation"

Firstly, it is right to go on pro testing through the United Nation and elsewhere against South A rican discrimination. It is right be cause there are whites and non whites outside South Africa whos attitudes are influenced for wors by discrimination inside Sout Africa. Later it is possible tha there will be wars based on colo differences, and those, if they com will have at least partly bee caused by South African intran sigence on this issue.

Secondly, in the three little Hig Commission Territories of Basuto land, Swaziland and Bechuana land, the United Kingdom has thre colonial enclaves within the Union sphere of influence. Much can l done in them to give an exampl instead of merely preaching ho Africa ought to be governed an developed. Something has alread been done, particularly in the fie of soil conservation, but very muc more remains to be done in th

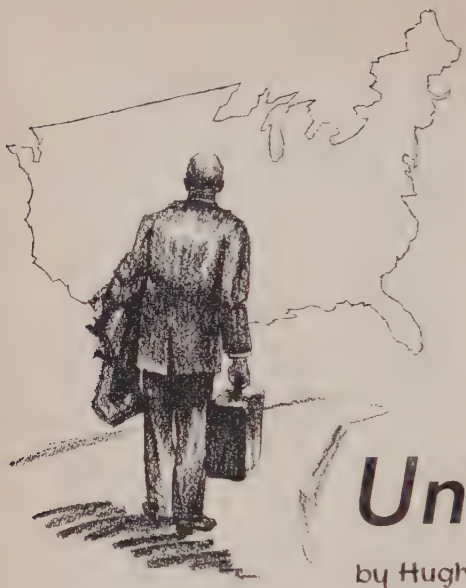
elds of education and the develop-
nent of the people. It is safe to
ay that an immense influence can
e brought to bear upon the Union
hrough these peoples. Economical-
y they are within the Union, and
vhat happens in them is known in
he Union. Imagine the effect on
ohannesburg of a formal abolition
f the color-bar in Basutoland,
00 miles to the south, with half
million inhabitants, most of
vhom are in the habit of living
art of their lives in the Union's
ities. Imagine the effect on South-
rn Africa of founding a university
pen to all races in comradeship
nd equality in Basutoland. Here
n South Africa we are sliding
own the slope towards some sort
f authoritarian government. Im-
gine how powerful an influence
uch a beacon of truth could be!
or other reasons too the founding
f such a university would be most
esirable. From the beginning of
954 the Union has formally
losed its schools and colleges to
on-whites (not to whites) from
ithout the Union's borders, and
ie non-whites of the High Com-
ission Territories have been in-
uded in this ban. No good reason
or this ban has ever been given,
nd one is left to assume that it is
otivated by the prejudice that
es behind so much that is done
this country. The effect will be
at it will be harder than ever for
on-white children from outside
ie Union to get on in the world.

Thirdly, there is a great oppor-
nity to help within the Union
strengthening the Christian
urches. Several of these churches
cruit their ministers in the United
ingdom. If dedicated men in the
K. give themselves to such a
use—being willing to come to
outh Africa without thinking of
eir personal enrichment, a tribu-
tary of great strength would unite itself to the river of emancipation. There are many small groups working for liberation within the Union. All need assistance with secretarial work and stationery. If people outside are really anxious to help, here are ways. But over and above all such groups there stand the churches. The World Council of Churches has decided that *all political, social and economic discriminations based on the grounds of race, wherever they may exist, are contrary to the will of God as expressed in the Christian Gospel.* If our churches here would set their faces against discrimination firmly and uncompromisingly the color-caste idea would not live another ten years. All our churches have sister-churches overseas. Pressure can come through them. The fact that we are a color-caste state is in itself a failure of Christianity, and remains a challenge to all Christians.

Grounds for Cooperation

This is an invitation to join in a fight, the best fight of our century, a nonviolent struggle for the better expression of the truth in Africa, for the better development of her people. As you can see, there are many ways of helping.

As far as the world is concerned, Africa needs help. If she gets it she will enter the world civilization as the Japanese and Indians have done, and there will be a mutual enrichment of life as a result. If she does not get help in the generation that lies ahead, she will fight her great fight alone, perhaps will turn away from those whom she might have gladly befriended. Africa needs the world, and the world needs Africa; and such a divorce would be a great tragedy.



Letter from the United States

by Hugh Faulkner

THE MORE ONE TRAVELS the more evident it becomes that to attempt to assess the thought of a nation and its people through the normal channels of information is not only inadequate but sometimes dangerous. The life of every nation is complex and in a country as vast as the U. S. A. such different characteristics emerge in one area as to contradict rash generalizations made a thousand miles away.

The American people are as warm-hearted and as generous as I expected them to be, and it was a happy experience to meet with so many whose work and witness for peace is so absorbing of their time and activity. Not that the emphasis on war preparation is without effect on many members of the F. O. R. It is disturbing to find those who are fearful of being labelled "communist" or "subversive" because of their association in the pacifist movement, even if Christian or because their expressed thoughts are "progressive."

The population has become used to the Air Raid Shelter notices as have children to their A-bomb practice and one is reminded of war-preparation in the approach to large cities by huge notices announcing the closure of main roads in the event of war. Not that all people are as yet aware of what

Occasionally it does us good to see ourselves as others see us, an opportunity this "letter" gives American pacifists. It was written for publication in England, where it appeared in the January, 1954 issue of the British magazine, *Reconciliation*, under the title "Peace Prospects in the U.S.A." Hugh Faulkner, then Organizing Secretary of the British F.O.R., had just returned from a lecture tour of the U.S.

involved in war for in one place, t least, the population was warned n the press of a forthcoming siren ehearsal so that "the people could et used to the idea."

Along with these plans there is ne ever-increasing militarization f the American nation and the ork of the peacemaker is harder ecause of the emphasis on violence n the radio, T. V., the films and in ne press. Had I needed convincing nat the present British organizaion for radio and television was to e preferred to the commercialized ethods of the U. S. A., then my isit to the States would have coninced me absolutely.

THE IDEALISM OF AMERICA and its emphasis on personal liberty is y no means matched by political naturity. The spectacle of "McCarhyism" with its sinister branding f all who are not violently opposed to Communism, as Communists themselves, suggests, in however slight a form, the vision of a olice-state. To be at all liberally-inded is to invite utter condemation, the besmirching of characer and often the end of a career. musing, but tragic, is the sugested withdrawal of Robin Hood rom the literary field. Because he obbed the rich to help the poor he ust have been a Communist! And hat of Red Riding Hood? She is anging her color and may be reerred to as Little Blue Riding ood! What a relief to find so any Americans who can laugh at cCarthyism and the stupid acons that result. A thousand pities ey did not laugh earlier, for now ne problem is more serious. It ay be that only the fact that the lf-publicized Senator is a Roman atholic will prevent his election the Presidency in 1956. But much is likely to happen in the political field before then. The present administration appears to see in its attacks on Mr. Truman an opportunity to recapture some kind of leadership. But maybe the participants in the recent Harry Dexter White case have stooped too low to achieve this.

AMERICA'S POLITICAL scene lacks stability and vision. Politicians there, as anywhere, find it very hard to admit wrong policies and mistakes. Unless of course it is the dismal picture of the Vice-President who on his peregrinations around the world finds it of some comfort to say it was a mistake to *disarm* Japan!

Those of us who see little hope for the relaxation of tension between the U.S.S.R. and the Western nations until the government of communist China finds itself duly recognized as a participant in the affairs of the United Nations need to recognize the tremendous power of those in the U. S. A. who are opposed to such action. Not only are most politicians and editors of the press bitterly opposed to the recognition of communist China, seemingly from ill-thought-out reasons, but no Christian voices of any weight or significance are raised in support. In fact, a questionnaire devised by a local Council of Churches in California revealed that 32 per cent of the Christians taking part in it voted that communist China should *never* be admitted to the U.N. This same enquiry showed that 20 per cent favored the use of the A-bomb by the U.S.A. to strike *first* in a preventive war, and 55 per cent advocated putting "everything" into an all-out offensive if the Korean armistice talks "hit a snag."

WHILE, THEREFORE, it is encouraging to find most of the churches well attended, and the organization of their resources and institutions leaving little to be desired, nevertheless they seem to be largely ineffective either in stabilizing society or providing the dynamic for more imaginative and constructive policies which need to be expressed in international affairs. But here more than anywhere are to be found those whose deep commitment to peace leads them logically and powerfully to the renunciation of war. Peace lies in the development of such commitment in the minds and therefore the actions of people in all countries. The recent Conference in Detroit on The Church and Peace, sponsored with the support of the American F. O. R. in preparation for the World Council of Churches Assembly to be held at Evanston in the summer of this year, is an encouraging and relevant piece of activity. For the World Church must come to see that commitment to the way of Christ involves the creation of a worldwide fellowship a community which is above a nations, and the citizens of tha community can never be found a war with each other and remai Christian. The function of th Christian pacifist movemen throughout the whole world i more clearly and forthrightly t witness to the essential truth o Christian pacifism as the enthrone ment of love and therefore th central part of the Gospel.

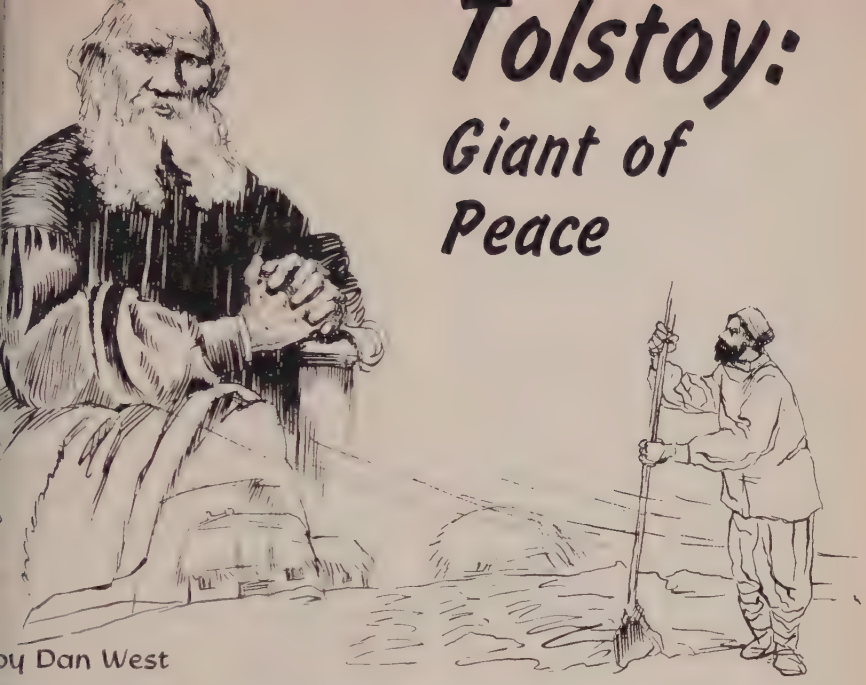
THE F.O.R. in the U. S. A., function ing in a situation where fea leads to irresponsible political ac tions, needs the encouragement o a more dynamic witness by th F.O.R. in Britain. But, as is no surprising, one's own faith is en riched and confirmed through th happy association with F.O.R. sta and members across the vast con tinent of America. The task of th F.O.R. in the U.S.A. is one of tre mendous responsibility and op portunity. The devotion of so man to that task indeed gives ground for hope.

It was incredible to be in that huge country (China) with its unwieldy government and its individualism and to find that not a person looked hungry. Everybody looked well-fed. . . . In the old days they'd almost fight for a handful of rice for their children, their hunger was so great. . . . The word "coolie" has been abolished. Everybody has self-respect. Now I don't say they live up to it all the time, but they seem to. . . . Coolie work of the worst sort is abolished. Nobody may let another man pull him anymore. All the rickshaws are fitted with bicycles. No one was out of work.

Now these wonderful things—but at what a price! There was fear, fear of each other. Everybody must watch and report on his fellow. . . . If they deviate in word or in action from the accepted line—its quite a good line, generally—but if they deviate from it and continue to do so, or if they appear to be really doubting if this is the best way, if they're getting their own opinions and holding to them, then it's probably prison. . . .

Muriel Lester,
speaking in Palo Alto

Tolstoy: Giant of Peace



by Dan West

THERE HAVE BEEN "giants of the earth." Lev Tolstoy was one. Living in old Russia, he belonged and belongs to the world. Dead since 1910, he lives for all time. He suffered long and hoped much. Born a count, he strove for most of eighty-two years to get away from special privilege and to become one with the peasants. Only spiritually can it be said that he reached his goal.

Tolstoy's turbulent story has been set down by Alexandra, his twelfth child and his secretary for his last nine years.* Lev, or Leo as he is more commonly known, was the fourth son of a proud landowning aristocrat, Nikolai Tolstoy. His mother died when he was less than two years old, and his father five years later, leaving him, an ugly and lonely child, without that spiritual security that all children need.

"Auntie Tanya," a distant relative, herself an orphan, came nearest to filling this void. She had long lived in the Tolstoy family at their country estate near Tula. Forceful, dutiful and unselfish, she knew how to love, without demanding love in return. Lev wrote of her: "Aunt Tanya had the greatest influence on my life. . . . From my childhood she taught me the spiritual satisfaction of love. . . . She knew everything I was doing, she regretted it, but never reproached me, always treated me with the same affection." In her diary, Tanya had written on August 16, 1836: "On this day Nikolai made me a

* Tolstoy, Alexandra, *Tolstoy: A Life of My Father*. Harper Bros., N. Y., 1953. 425 pp., $5.

strange proposal—to marry him, to be a mother to his children and never leave them. I refused the former, but promised to do the latter as long as I live."

After a checkered career as an undisciplined university student, with an impressive record as a courageous soldier, a successful farmer, a promising educator nearly a century ahead of his time, and a brilliant and prolific writer, Tolstoy became world famous. But he despised celebrations and special honors. He had shed an earlier infatuation with pomp and circumstance and was daily centering his life more on spiritual matters.

The tragic circumstances of most of his adult life resemble those of Lear, although his struggle was not with ungrateful children; rather did he suffer from his inability to make clear to them his deep meanings. Tolstoy had to struggle on a grander scale—with himself, with the Orthodox Church, with the Russian government, and (hardest of all) with his wife. He failed signally with all of them. He failed, too, with the poor. Although he took their garb, ate their food, did their work, and entered into their problems, they did not really understand him.

Inner Struggle

From Tolstoy's diary we get some idea of his struggle for integrity of soul and for communion with all sorts and conditions of people. At twenty-six he wrote, " I am not modest . . . proud inside and bashful and shy in society." Later, the memory of his sensual sins, his gambling and early drunkenness hung like a cloud over his life. He never forgave himself: "I even reveled in my disgust for my past and tried to make it even darker than it was. . . ." At sixty-four he was still suffering: "I am alone, yet there are so many people . . . it is impossible to come to know them all—Indians, Malayans, Japanese—even those who are always with me, my children, my wife. . . Among these people I am . . . completely lonely and alone. . . . I am a miserable worm, sullied by petty, mean human passions, yet possessed of limitless powers of imagination and love."

Trouble with Church

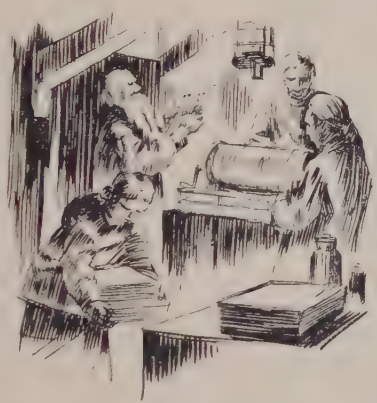
In spite of all his doubts, early and late, Tolstoy was devoutly religious throughout his life. Rousseau and the Gospels made up his favorite reading early in life; their appeal lasted through the years. He felt at sixteen that his "one and only true faith was in striving for perfection." He eventually arrived at the conviction that the Church was not in accord with the New Testament. He resented the conventional, rigid, submissive attitude of the people toward the Orthodox Church. "With my intellectual demands," he observed, "and the answers given by the Christian reli-

Dan West

. . . has charge of leadership training for the department of Social Education, Brethren Service Commission (Church of the Brethren).

gion, I find myself in the position of two hands trying to clasp each other but whose fingers stand in the way." He refused to accept the walls of the mind so evident in the thinking of the Church; a clash was inevitable.

When Tolstoy was sixty there was serious question about his excommunication from the Church. Twelve years later the Sacred Consistory met to consider refusing masses or funeral rites for him unless he repented. The following year a decree to this effect was published, and his writings banned. He was termed a "false teacher" who defied Christ, renounced the Church and uprooted the faith of the people. In this crisis, the family pulled together again. A mimeograph machine was illegally purchased so that at night his children and others could turn out the banned writings. Their mother finally intervened, and in a fit of anger had the machine carried out of the house. Throughout the affair, Tolstoy avoided bitterness. But he did not turn back: "I began with loving my Orthodox faith more than my peace of mind, and then came to love Christianity more than my church. Now I love truth above all else in the world."



Conflict with Gov't

In 1879 revolutionaries killed the Tsar, Alexander II. To his successor, Alexander III, Tolstoy wrote: "Before you there are the same enemies who poisoned your father's existence and destroyed him . . . you must have a feeling of revenge in your heart. . . . To your lot has fallen the most dire temptation. Yet no matter how terrible it is, the teaching of Christ destroys it . . . only the path of Christian rule upon which you must now enter, can destroy that evil which is corroding Russia. Like wax before a flame, all revolutionary opposition will melt away before the Tsarman who fulfills the law of Christ."

As Tolstoy's fame as a writer grew, the government became uneasy. His followers were persecuted, his works banned. But his influence could not be shaken. Although realizing the harshness of life under the Tsars, Tolstoy also saw the brutal narrow-mindedness of the revolutionaries: "How vividly the revolutionaries, when they begin to lay their hands on power, typified all the customary corrosive effects of power. . . . They are worse than their predecessors, because they are fresh at it. . . . One must say to the revolutionaries, 'You cannot, my friends, build temples with unskilled hands, much less with unclean ones.'"

Countess Tolstoy, nee Sophie Behrs, nicknamed Sonya, was the daughter of a court doctor who lived in the Kremlin. It was a cultured, intelligent, puritan family, moving in high court circles. Sonya was beautiful, sensitive, strong-minded, and honest, but she lived a sheltered life. Deep down

there was a significant lack: she did not trust her happiness, feared that something might spoil it. There was a recurring strain of sadness. She remained, throughout her life, a child.

Leo and Sonya

Tolstoy had been a frequent and welcome visitor in the family; but when he fell in love with Sonya he lacked the courage to propose to her face, so he wrote a letter. She accepted immediately and a week later they were married. He was thirty-four, she eighteen.

At first Tolstoy became more creative and ambitious than ever, while Sonya was steadily employed having children—thirteen in twenty-five years. But she did more than bear and care for children; she became Lev's secretary, hoarding every scrap of paper he wrote upon. But there were differences. Sonya wanted a tender husband who would raise the family in comfortable, dignified luxury; Lev felt deeply for the "little people" who were the mudsill for the nobility. She was shocked and repelled by the coarse ways of the peasants; he saw beyond their crudeness to their possibilities. She loved the city; he the country he took her to. She wanted the children to have leisure and "culture"; he wanted them to learn responsibility. He was interested in the discipline of the spirit; she was of a practical turn. (In Tolstoy's words: "She is a woman in whom the body always outweighs the soul.")

The Tolstoys loved each other deeply, but they were also insanely jealous of each other. Sonya sacrificed much, but self-consciously, "constantly underscoring her purity, innocence and the sacrifice of her youth and her talents." There were early "scenes," then making up and trying all over. Later, quarrels were more frequent and more easily provoked. Sonya began seeing insults where they did not exist; she became loud and abusive. Lev, too, got to losing his temper. The gulf between them was widening. Several of the children tried to reconcile them, but failed.

Sometimes Sonya lost what balance she had. In 1891 she threatened to throw herself beneath an oncoming train. It became harder for Lev to refuse her demands. "Father as always acceded to her wish," writes Alexandra. Masha, an older daughter, comments: "Mother writes her diaries *post factum,* basing them on Father's, so she can justify herself." Eventually the children lost all respect for their mother and gave up efforts at reconciliation.

Increasing Conflict

In July of 1909 when Tolstoy was invited to speak for universal disarmament at the Stockholm Peace Congress, Sonya insisted he should stay home. "She screamed, she wept, she threatened to kill herself." Tolstoy did not go, wrote in his diary: ". . . one would like to think that she might be won over by kindness."

As early as 1884 Tolstoy thought of leaving home, but his love for Sonya and the children restrained him. After one terrible quarrel he did leave, but remembering that she was on the verge of another confinment, he returned. At long last (1910) he was determined—he left home to die. The note he left for Sonya read:

> I am doing what old men of my years do—they withdraw from worldly life to live in solitude and quiet for the last days of

their lives. . . . Please do not come after me. . . . Your coming would only worsen my and your situation, it cannot alter my decision. I thank you for your faithful 48 years of life with me and I beg you to forgive me . . . just as I with all my soul forgive you.

Feeble but set, he drove away from home before daylight with only his doctor accompanying him. Grief-stricken, Sonya tried to drown herself in the family's pond. Alexandra and some others rescued her. All the children believed that "as a Christian, father should have borne his cross to the end," but since he didn't they followed as soon as they could. Illness had forced Tolstoy to leave the train he had boarded; he was now dying of pneumonia in a station-master's house in Astapovo, a small town in southern Russia. His last words to his two daughters were: "I just wanted to advise you to remember that there are in the world many people beside Lev Tolstoy, and you are looking only at this one Lev."

A painful picture (one of thirty-seven in the book) shows Sonya peering through a window of the house into which she was not allowed to go, not until her husband had died. She herself died in 1920.

Pacifism

During his four years of army service, Tolstoy was an enthusiastic soldier, but eventually he turned away from war. The books, *Christian Non-Resistance* by Ballou and *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* by Sabatier, no doubt influenced him in this direction. By 1890 he was writing against militarism himself. In 1894 he wrote a book about a country teacher who was imprisoned for refusing military service and died in confinement. Also, he learned of the Dukhobors and planned to turn the proceeds of his unfinished novel, *Resurrection*, toward helping to move them out of Russia.

Cannot Be Silent

In response to the Tsar's manifesto on World Disarmament he wrote: "Universal disarmament will be achieved only through self-respect and the refusal to obey a government which requires taxes and military service for the purpose of organized violence and murder." The war between Russia and Japan shocked him: "I am not on the side of either Russia or Japan, but on that of the laboring people of both countries, deceived by their governments and forced to fight against the interest of their own welfare, their conscience, their religion."

As the Russian revolutionaries grew in strength, he was more vocal, opposing both their violent activities and those of the government bent on suppressing them. His article, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," was a call to love. After the 1905 revolution, capital punishment was exacted with greater frequency; children played at hanging. Tolstoy voiced his protest in "I Cannot Be Silent," a pamphlet that was suppressed, but nonetheless widely distributed.

Thomas Edison won Tolstoy's respect for refusing to give any of his inventions over for military purposes. Gandhi Tolstoy thought "a man very akin to . . . me." One is humble and sober after reading this biography. It will make some persons more hopeful for the cause Tolstoy lived for. But it is no easy diet for gentle readers.

"If the salt have lost his savor"

(Matt. 5:13)

This "lost" is terrible!
It tells me I am empty,
Harmless being hollow:
Binds me, giant-like,
Devours me, python-like,
Sucks me, vortex-like,
Buries me, grave-like;
My words are breath and ashes,
We both are "good for nothing"
salt gone—flat and tasteless.

Tasteless? No, oh horrors!
Salt, come back, assail me!
Nipping, biting, Salt,
possess me, sting me, sting!

—HARRY TRUMBALL SUTTON

The H-Bomb Is Like Charity In One Particular

Wouldst turn thy attention to the Geiger counter,
Shaped like an umbrella, raised over a city?
It ticks off the just and the unjust
According to the concentration of selective isotopes.

Rain is outmoded now.
But with stubborn gentleness it persists in falling
Alike upon the unjust and the just.

Give us an H-bomb which picks and chooses,
Seeking out a Hitler at his mother's breast,
By-passing a St. Francis hawking poultry.

Or, failing that,
Wouldst consider charity
Which droppeth as a gentle rain from heaven?

—NORRIS LLOYD

F.O.R. Acts Quickly With H-Bomb Protest

Hardly a day passed between the government-released announcement of its March 1 hydrogen-bomb explosion and A. J. Muste's framing of a protest letter. The Executive Committee has decided to use this protest as the basis of a petition it will encourage all F.O.R. members to sign.

"We call upon President Eisenhower," reads the opening paragraph, "to order immediate suspension of the H-Bomb tests reportedly scheduled to take place in the Pacific in April and of all similar experiments in mass destruction weapons. We suggest that, at the least, the Administration should at once make it clear that in future such tests will not be conducted pursuant to a unilateral decision by the United States and subject to its sole supervision and control."

The protest concludes on the note that not only the American people but people everywhere need time to evaluate the meaning of the hydrogen-bomb and its limitless powers of obliteration. Meanwhile, President Eisenhower addressed the nation with assurance that Americans would not initiate war but would "retaliate" on Russia in the instance that she attacks "any of our nations or any part of our vital interests." He also warned against developing jitters or any kind of panic, asked Americans not to "fall prey to hysterical thinking."

Graham Evades Pacifist Issue

Pacifists in England have taken the occasion of Billy Graham's much-publicized evangelistic campaign there to question him about war and peace. In a weekly paper, a minister asked Mr. Graham to give a straight answer to the question: Can he imagine Christ using atom bombs and other modern methods of warfare?

In response to another letter, addressed to Graham directly, a Mrs. H. G. Willis received this explanation from a "Spiritual Counsellor" of Mr. Graham: "There would be no profit to the beginning of a discussion on the subject you have mentioned (Christian pacifism), for we are sure that you hold tenaciously to your view and we hold tenaciously to ours, which is just a little bit different from yours. Yet we do believe that if only men and women would come to Christ and follow His way, then there would be no fear of war and no use for the devilish instruments of warfare which are being used by the nations."

Sybil Morrison, in the March 26

issue of *Peace News,* criticizes Graham for what amounts to a sin of omission: "It is extraordinary that a man should come to a country with such a lavishly advertised programme, to preach the gospel of love, and of obedience to love, and say nothing whatever of war and its relation to that gospel. It has been reported that in answer to a question as to his views on Christian pacifism, he replied: 'I don't understand Christian pacifism.' If this is true then he would seem to be carrying out a campaign for following Jesus in a vast vacuum of unreality. . . If the famous evangelist has no understanding of pacifism and evades any discussion of war and its accompanying evils, then he is totally out of touch with the minds and hearts of the common people today. Peace and war is the paramount issue, and it is still left for the pacifist to be the realist, and point the practical as well as the spiritual way to peace."

Month Sees Close of Lester Tour

Muriel Lester returns to England this month after an American speaking tour that kept her hopping for three busy months under the paternal eye of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, her sponsors. Regional American F.O.R. offices handled her schedules regionally; John Nevin Sayre of IFOR planned her Eastern engagements.

It is too early yet to say how many persons Miss Lester reached with the pacifist witness through her public addresses, F.O.R. meetings, sermons and luncheon talks, but the list of places visited reads exhaustively. She gave a chapel talk for the men of Chino prison in California, attended an all-day youth conference at Mt. Hollywood Christian Church, participated in a Community Church (N. Y.) Forum, addressed Councils of Churches or of Churchwomen in Portland and Salem, *Oregon,* La Crosse, *Wisconsin,* Louisville, *Kentucky,* and Silver Springs, *Maryland.* In April she joined the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship at a retreat at Orleton Farms, Ohio, and led a retreat for two days at Wainwright House, Rye, N. Y.

The subjects on which she was asked to speak were: Inside China (before arriving in the States she had spent over a week in Peking as the guest of the Indian ambassador there), Japanese Mood Today, Miracles of Grace in India, The Fellowship of Reconciliation —a New Pattern in History, Youth Cells Around the World, Self-identification with the Oppressed, Spiritual Energy, African Spotlights, and Some New Testament Personalities.

This American tour is part of Miss Lester's seventh around-the-world trip as one of the traveling secretaries of the International F.O.R., which position she relinquishes this year. Her last engagement in the States comes up May 11, when she lunches with the IFOR American Committee in New York. She flies BOAC to London May 12.

Work in South Generously Supported

The Robert Treat Paine Foundation for Peace has offered the F.O.R. a grant of $2,500 to finance the resumption of organizational work in the South for this year. Tentative financial arrangements to

take care of two more years' work have also been made.

The Executive Council was pleased, at its April meeting, to accept this grant and to announce that Claud Nelson, Jr. would work for F.O.R. from a base at Koinonia, Georgia. His part-time effort will supplement that of other part-time workers in Texas and Tennessee.

Gandhi's Son Relates Experiences

The March bulletin of AFSAR (Americans for South African Resistance) carried a report by Manilal Gandhi on the conditions of prisons in the Union of South Africa. Gandhi served 38 days of a 50-day sentence for defying segregation laws during the nonviolent resistance program of December 1952. The piece, entitled "My Time in Jail," had never before been published in this country.

African prisoners, says Gandhi, are treated not as human beings but as beasts. They are "not only shouted at, but beaten up, knocked, slapped, fisted, charged by the African warders with sticks and by the white warders with batons." They are searched in the most indecent and degrading manner. The "live in dirt and eat dirt."

"Prisoners had to eat their food squatting down on the ground in the open yard, which was exposed to wind and rain. If the wind blew, the dust would soil all the food and render it uneatable. If it rains all the food gets wet. I experienced this myself. The warders were all togged up in their overcoats and raincoats, standing watching the prisoners, who were being drenched while eating their food. It reminded me of the herdsman watching a herd of cattle or sheep grazing."

Gandhi concludes that public opinion must be held as responsible for these conditions as the Malan government is.

Frank Laubach Moves Again

Dr. Frank Laubach, famed pioneer in the Each One Teach One literacy method, will undertake, beginning December, a five-month tour abroad to help carry out recently announced plans of the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature. This Committee's 1955 operating budget will reach the all-time high of nearly a quarter million dollars.

Laubach will spend next December and January in West Pakistan where he and his team of experts will set up a literacy program for the Sinds of that area. For the first time literature is being prepared in the Sind language, with the aim of helping Sind Desert dwellers understand irrigation methods and cooperate with technical aid work now being done for their benefit.

After launching this project, Laubach will move into other areas in Asia and Africa. Tentatively, South Sudan, Korea and another African location are being considered. It is estimated that Laubach methods and materials have helped some 60,000,000 persons learn to read in 250 languages and dialects.

War's Over, But CO Troubles Continue

Selective Service has ordered draft boards to give CO's credit for civilian work performed before receipt of actual work orders. A recent directive states that consid-

eration will be given to the release of any IW man from civilian work if the man himself requests it, and if he can show that he has satisfactorily completed 24 consecutive months of service since the date of volunteering.

Under previous regulations an objector who had volunteered for civilian work before receiving the formal work order was credited with only those months worked after getting the order.

Recently the staff of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors interviewed Immigration and Naturalization officials in Washington to point out that Selective Service has through the years recognized that objectors were just as much opposed to doing defense work as to performing military service, and that the Immigration Service might well do the same. No promises were made, but NSBRO staff recommendations were noted.

Meanwhile cases in point go pretty much their own way, depending on the judges. The son of a minister of the Christian Apostolic Church was denied citizenship in Paterson, N. J., a Boston lady got hers, the trial of John Thiessen in California has been delayed by the judge, and Arthur Jost of California gained a Supreme Court ruling that upset a lower court's decision to withhold citizenship from him.

Four Adventist soldiers, part of the First General Dispensary command stationed at Anchorage, Alaska, have been court-martialed at Fort Richardson for refusing to take part in a practice air raid alert occurring on Saturday, their Sabbath day. They were convicted and sentenced to six months at hard labor. A formal protest was made to the Army's Board for Reviews, Pardons and Dismissals in Washington by Carlyle B. Haynes, general secretary of the War Service Commission of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. C. L. Chastain, an Adventist pastor, has explained his church's position: "The Seventh-day Adventist has always been a conscientious cooperator. However, we do feel that the sacred hours of the Sabbath should not be violated in acts of training."

At this writing, no action has yet been taken on the House bill, HR 6872, introduced in January by Overton Brooks of Louisiana. The bill would provide a mandatory minimum sentence for draft violation of two years. The pertinent part of the bill reads: "Any person who evades or refuses registration or service in the Armed Forces . . . (should) be punished for not less than two nor more than five years, or by such imprisonment and a fine of not more than $10,000." The bill has been referred to the House Armed Services Committee.

Major Kealy of the Los Angeles office of the Selective Service System told Rev. Kent, whose son Bob is serving a three-year sentence for refusing to submit to Army induction, that "if his son had been a Quaker or a Brethren it (the trial) would have been different, but since the Methodist Church (to which Bob and his father belong) did not teach that its members should hold the CO position, Bob could not have gotten his ideas from the church and hence was not a sincere religious objector." Bob started serving his sentence at Tucson camp on December 8.

The National Service Board for Religious Objectors reported recently that 4,000 conscientious ob-

jectors are now engaged in civilian work as required by the draft law. More than half are Mennonites and Amish. Of the major Protestant denominations, Methodists lead with 27, while the Lutherans trail with 2.

Three circuit courts have now ruled that beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses (specifically, approval of theocratic wars) do not rule them out of eligibility for CO classification.

The question of general amnesty for CO's continued to be raised. An editorial in the January 18 issue of *The Chicago Tribune* came out strongly for such action on the part of the government: "During times of war people take a dim view of the C.O. When the shooting stops and some measure of sanity returns, a less harsh view prevails. The methods by which the nation was taken into the last war, the dismal results of that adventure, and the bankruptcy of the war policy are now apparent to all but the most zealous interventionist diehards. On the record, the conscientious objectors who refused to have any part in this business look more sensible than the men who pushed the nation's youth into the battlefields to die for no good purpose."

In response to a note A. J. Muste sent to Washington expressing regret over the fact that numerous pardons had been extended over the winter holidays but apparently no thought given to amnesty for CO's, Bernard Shanley, Special Counsel to the President, said that "after careful consideration, it has been determined that a general amnesty such as you request should not be granted at this time."

Calif. Statute Debated, Opposed

California's law requiring all churches and tax-exempt charitable and non-profit organizations to sign a pledge of loyalty to the governments of both nation and state has been challenged this year. Thus far, thirteen churches and three religious organizations in the San Francisco Bay area have voted to oppose the oath.

The six churches which refused outright to sign are: Mills Terrace Christian Church in Oakland, Vine Street Quakers in Berkeley, Palo Alto Unitarian Church, San Leandro First Methodist Church, First Unitanian-Universalist Church of San Jose, First Methodist Church of Campbell. Six other churches signed "under protest," another "with reservations."

The American Friends Service Committee, the regional organization of the Unitarian Church, and the Commission on Legislation and Public Morals of the Northern Calif. Council of Churches (representing 24 Protestant denomination) also opposed the oath. The Service Committee issued a statement of protest which said in part: "Believing in the importance of the individual, we deplore the tendency toward restriction of individual freedom represented by (the oath). We protest this requirement because it is part of the attempt to test loyalty by words instead of deeds. This and similar requirements tend to engender fear and thereby restrict the freedom of the loyal individual to think independently and to search for truth."

The oath is expected to be discussed at the annual session of the California-Nevada Methodist Conference in Stockton, June 14-20.

Jottings

Worldover Press reports a recent interview of students enrolled in the new Japanese "West Point," or National Safety Force Academy, at Kurihama. These military men admitted feeling that ordinary college students tend to shun them and that their chief concern in entering the Academy (often against their parents' wishes) was to find a reasonably secure livelihood. A military career holds no glamor for them; they definitely are not ready to lay down their lives for the emperor.

Representative Harold Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, says his committee will give Dr. J. B. Matthews a public hearing this spring. Matthews wants to substantiate his charges of Communist infiltration of American pulpits.

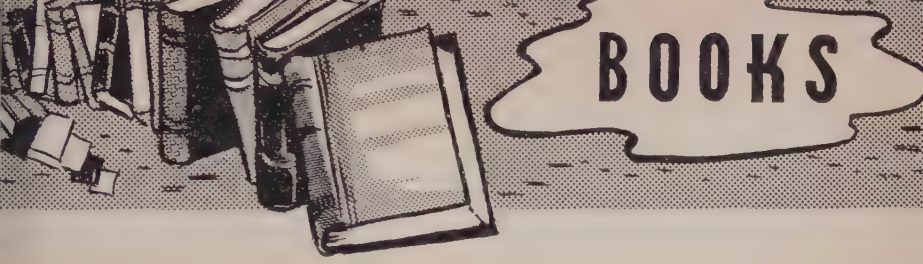
Old Order Amish Mennonites, through one of their bishops, have advised Congress that although they do not object to paying Social Security taxes, they do not want any of its benefits. Their objection is based on the historic opposition of the sect to any form of insurance. "Our churches," said the bishop, "provide for our poor and needy. . . ."

The Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts is sponsoring a bill in the Boston State House which would amend the state educational television law by striking out the section which bars from TV channels any person who has ever invoked the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional or state investigating committee.

The Executive Council of the F.O.R. has accepted with regret the resignation of Albert ("Ab") Watson from the position of Midwest Secretary, a post he has held for seven years. No final date has been set for the termination of his work.

Houses for Korea, 580 Minnesota Avenue, San Jose, Calif., makes available for organizations, churches and schools, both slides and a film on Korea. The slides are kodachrome, the film a 30-minute 16 mm. silent film with titles. Koreans as they have been affected by the war and as they face post-war deprivations are depicted amid the natural beauty of their country.

A committee of the Schenectady (N. Y.) Council of Churches has criticized McCarthy and the General Electric Company on the ground that their policies "tend to obscure the great principle that the citizen is innocent until proven guilty." G.E.'s new policy is to suspend for 90 days employees who refuse to testify before investigating agencies and to dismiss them if they fail to "clear" themselves.



Prisoners Are People

Diary of a Self-Made Convict, by Alfred Hassler. Henry Regnery Co., Chicago, 1954. 182 pp., foreword by Harry Elmer Barnes. $3.

This book is an "agonizing reappraisal" of one of the institutional patterns of our society, namely, the penitentiary system. Advocated by the great English prison reformer, John Howard (1726-1790), and implemented by the Quakers of Philadelphia, the penitentiary was devised in America toward the end of the eighteenth century, as a humane substitute for the cruel tortures and harsh physical punishments that used to be meted out to offenders. In spite of the noble intentions that gave birth to it, our experience with the penitentiary system for over a hundred and fifty years has proved its futility. Instead of reclaiming offenders through penitence, our prisons have become breeding-places for bigger and better crimes, and training-schools for our tougher and more hardened criminals.

As an institution, the prison must categorize and classify offenders into neat pigeon-holes, and deal with them en masse, or at best as categories. The prison administrators forget that the inmates are "men, individual, different, as unlike one another as we are unlike. . . ." (p. 82)

The author of this remarkable book, a CO who had been sentenced to three years and who spent eight months during 1944-45 in the Lewisburg (Pa.) Penitentiary, has rendered us great service by setting down the experiences and thoughts engendered by his incarceration. He presents to us individual personalities of men who had been categorized as hardened criminals, as army deserters, as OPA violators, or as deviants whose anti-social behavior was deemed to be a menace to society. Through these pages move as real persons with flesh and bones, with their joys and sorrows, with their ambitions and frustrations, men who had been classified as dangerous to society—Whitey, Hans, Bill Mason, Danny, Bill, Neal, Tony, Roy, Smitty, Smokey, Steve Markle, Ernie, Bob McCreery, as well as CO's.

To have broken down categories into live human beings is in itself an accomplishment of a high order. To have delineated the boredom, tension, impersonality, regimentation, humiliation, and loss of self-respect resulting from the operation of our prison system, is a real service to penology.

It is all too true that non-conformists do create a problem for society. How non-conformists are handled may well be an index of the level of civilization. Some non-conformists may be prophets. Shall we stone them to death? Shall we incarcerate them? Or, shall we per-

mit them freedom of conscience to submit their notions to the test of social interaction? Then, again, some of the non-conformists may be immature or inadequate—physically, mentally, or emotionally. Shall we punish them or "treat" them? Some of the non-conformists may be frustrated souls who, because of their inadequacy or because of the shortcomings of our social order, may have failed to abide by the norms or values cherished by our culture. How shall we deal with such frustrated individuals who blossom forth into criminals?

These questions come to my mind as I finish reading this book. The author quotes Jesus' method of dealing with the serious offense: Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone! Since in varying degrees we are all sinners and transgressors against society's laws, it behooves us to look at our "criminal" population with charity, to treat them with love, to bridge the gap between our professions and practices, to regenerate ourselves and our society.

This book is a record of the reactions made on a highly sensitized soul by our institutional pattern of the prison-house. That it may lead to the inauguration of wholesome reforms in our penal system is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

—Haridas T. Muzumdar

REVIEWERS

Haridas Muzumdar is Professor of Sociology at Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa. He is the author of books on Gandhi, independence movements and world peace.

Through Trained Eyes

The Return of Germany, by Norbert Muhlen. Henry Regnery Co., 310 pp., $4.50.

This book by a trained reporter is justly advertised as "a brilliant study of Europe's two new countries, East Germany and West Germany." It is hard to imagine a book more packed with concrete information.

The chapter on "Jews, Germans and anti-Semites" is full of fresh material, does not spare the Nazis, or the Germans generally, but also furnishes startling evidence of how persecution begot bitterness and indiscriminate hate among many Jews. "In August 1951, forty-six countries formally ended their state of war with Germany. Israel (which had been founded only after the war with Germany ended) refused to join with them." Chancellor Adenauer quietly admitted that the Jews had suffered outrageously and said that the majority of Germans were filled with revulsion against the deeds of the past: "We must find a way to let the Jews know. . . ."

In a chapter on "The Land of Lonely People"— West Germany after the war—the author alludes to the decline in educational standards during the Nazi regime and the war. In 1949 only 91 applicants out of 1,700 passed a simple test for admission to a newly-opened school of journalism in Munich. Among the personages many applicants could not identify were Eisenhower, Richard Wagner, Albert Einstein, and Schiller.

The chapter on West Berlin, subtitled "World in Village Focus," is magnificent. "West Berlin felt itself the free capital of the Eastern country subjugated by the enemy. If it looked contemptuously at West

Germany, to which it belonged *de jure*, it looked with rebellious solidarity at East Germany, to which it belonged in its heart."

Towards the end of the book there is a chapter on "America in German Eyes," which is frequently hilarious. He tells the adventure of a "Mr. Smith who in the summer of 1951 told the principal of a German girls' high school in Flensburg that he was a public health officer working for the American High Commission and wanted to select the twelve healthiest girls over fourteen to be sent to the United States for a visit. Though Mr. Smith spoke broken English, the principal was not suspicious. Mr. Smith examined all the girls in the school and had them undress for the purpose. The same thing occurred in a number of schools. When it was discovered by chance that Smith was a native and lifelong resident of Flensburg and a pervert who had no connection with the U.S. Occupation, all concerned explained that they had not asked him for credentials because 'everything he did was so typically American.' The high school principal said: 'That's how Americans are, I thought, charitable and rich, but with uncultural manners.' Someone else volunteered: 'I realized that the man couldn't speak correct English, but then I knew that most Americans don't.' "

I trust that my citing some of the lively incidents in Muhlen's book, rather than quoting its statistics, its political analysis and its penetrating sketches of Adenauer, Niemöller, Heinemann and others, does not lead anyone to underestimate the weightiness and wisdom of this book.

—A. J. M.

"No Real Awareness"

Educational Freedom in an Age of Anxiety, edited by H. Gordon Bullfish. Harpers, New York, 1953. 229 pp., $3.

This is a book of eleven essays written by various educators for the Twelfth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society. There are some very good chapters, such as David Spitz's "Power Law and Freedom of Inquiry" and Ashley Montagu's "Freedom of Inquiry and the Shared Experience." There are some dull chapters also.

The first chapter suggests, after a brief comment on communism, that "it seems necessary in order to meet this totalitarian threat for us to sacrifice some of the values we have held most dear, becoming thereby more like the enemy we fight." Horace Kallen, in what is a plea for universal compulsory military training, deplores the voluntary system because the "trained and armed volunteer possesses a dangerous advantage in just that kind of knowledge and skill that could render him a menace to the democratic way." Without any documentation or attempt at proof, he repeats the clichés of the militarist that America engaged in "swift wasteful disarmament" after World War II, that "a man of peace must as such be a fighting man," etc.

There are some excellent chapters, as one might suspect, which deal with civil liberties, academic freedom and freedom of religion, but no real awareness of the danger of the garrison state toward which America is seductively being drawn.

—J. M. S.

Mr. Lee Answered

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I would like to take exception to the letter from Clarence Lee in the March issue of FELLOWSHIP. (See p. 31.) He feels that it is wrong to be "tolerant" of alcohol and tobacco, and proceeds to argue as if he alone were right.

It strikes me that all of Mr. Lee's arguments are perfectly valid as explanation of his own feelings and attitudes. However, it is quite another matter for him to tell the rest of us, in no uncertain terms, how to act.

Such an attitude is, unfortunately, one disease that all too many "good" Christians suffer from. It seems to me to reveal a basically presumptuous feeling of infallibility that is shared by McCarthyites, racists, and totalitarians as well. I feel that it behooves us Christians to adopt means that better fit our ends. I am always wary of those who are so sure of their own infallibility that they disregard my right to think and live in my own way.

JAMES B. OSGOOD
New York, N. Y.

A Personal Choice

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I can't help wanting to add this small comment to the provocative comments already made on E. R. Bromley's letter (Jan., p. 31) *re* federal taxation.

It seems to me your office has no choice but to take out the withholding tax. Where the making of a choice really comes is in the mind of each individual employee or staff member as he pays, or does not pay, his individual income tax.

EVELYN G. WALLACE
Cloquet, Minn.

"Downright Immoral"

The Editors.
FELLOWSHIP:

At the risk of seeming to indulge in academic and picayune carping, I would like to take exception to S. N. McCain's rosy-hued review of *War, Peace and the Christian Mind*, the last book written by the late Dr. James Thayer Addison (March, p. 29). From a reading of the review alone, one would assume that the book is sympathetic to pacifism, if not explicitly pacifist; but such is far from being the case. I agree with Mr. McCain that the book is one which pacifists should read, but I doubt that many pacifists will concur with his cliche about its being a "breath of fresh air." On the contrary, it is more akin to a scathing blast, and as an indictment of the pacifist position it is especialy salient because it is well-reasoned as well as trenchant.

I am compelled to conclude that Mr. McCain's reading of the book was somewhat cursory and careless; the one passage which he quotes from the book, and which he attributes to Addison, is a statement not made by Addison at all (save for the last sentence), but by Rufus Jones, a Quaker and a pacifist. Addison, after quoting Jones' rather idealistic definition of pacifism, comments that this is pacifism at its best, and that it should be judged at its best. But the whole pur-

pose of the book, it seems to me, is to try to demonstrate that pacifism at its best is not good enough—and perhaps is even downright immoral.

DEAN PEERMAN
Ithaca, New York

A Public Disclaimer

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Maybe the time has come for a "public disclaimer" column every year or every month where, as an organization, we can take a stand against specific actions of violence or injustice our government has taken, or proposes to take, in our name.

Right now it might well be the compulsive continuation of these fiendish H-bomb tests. It's a sad day when the President can't even speak of the injury to "ally" Japanese fishermen in terms of sorrow and sympathy but only mimic the callous assertion that the reports of injury appear to be exaggerated.

To the government: Don't test those bombs in my name; Don't pull those electric chair switches; Don't keep those food surpluses from a starving world; Don't send those arms abroad for me.

HOLLIS J. WYMAN, JR.
Great Barrington, Mass.

Evolution or Revolution

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Mild exception must be taken to John Swomley's characterization, in a recent number of FELLOWSHIP (Feb., p. 5) of post-liberal pacifism as revolutionary. It is, rather, to be called radical. The new possibilities of mass destruction put upon us all the most exigent demand that we change our society radically. The new technology which brings the possibility of decent material comfort within the sight of all makes our economic-social structures anachronistic. Tinkering with these forms won't do. A radical change must be made—and quickly.

But John Swomley would surely be quick to acknowledge that the need for social change is but one determiner of its tempo and extent. The minds and hearts of men must be made ready for change, and only that change for which they *are* ready can be profound or enduring. Social engineering which looks only to the needs of the times invariably ends up by being *merely* Utopian.

We need then an inquiry as to what men are ready for. . . . The demand for "revolutionary action" is a one-eyed demand. So is the advice to proceed by "evolution." Both are slogans which keep us from the best appraisal we can make of the total situation. One is rash, the other timid. What we need is intelligence—concerned intelligence, courageous intelligence, not a retreat to the ivory tower, but intelligence guiding social exploration and action.

HORACE B. ENGLISH
Ohio State University

"Old, Familiar Ring"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The report by Harry Kantor on the Aprista movement in Peru (February issue) has an old, familiar ring.

If we look back upon the progressive movements of the West in their infancy, we will find that they also espoused morality in politics in much the same manner and style. This was all well and good as far as it went.

Then these progressive movements gained the political support of the masses, and eventually came to prostitute the very morality they were so enthusiastically espousing for so many years. The masses eventually came to be known as them asses.

It will be interesting to note what course of action the Aprista movement will pursue in the future.

JOSEPH A. PRACHAR
Glen Ellyn, Illinois

A Pacifist Church?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I was very glad to read in the March FELLOWSHIP some quotations from the Hancock-Jollie letters. . . . This matter of the church and pacifism is one which has especially interested me for years and I agree completely with the position of Frank Hancock in regard to the comparative importance of the pacifist stand on war in comparison to the theological issues on which some former splits were made. However, I do not think that the Rev. Jollie's idea is valid: that a separate church necessitates breaking fellowship with those who remain in the established churches.

The leaders in the Pacifist Church Movement in England, as I remember, said in the beginning that it was not necessary to break away from one's church to also belong to the new one. But it seems to me, that even if one did leave a church when joining this new one, one would not therefore be losing all fellowship with former friends and associates. Members of the various churches do not limit their friendships to the members of their own congregations. . . .

I wish that some time there could be published in FELLOWSHIP a history of this British effort with more comprehensive discussions of the hopes and theories involved.

ELIZABETH HASWELL
Dayton, Ohio

Making Her Point

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

. . . I had gone as usual to the monthly meeting of the Woman's Society of Christian Service at our church but was surprised to find that the leaders of the Civil Defense organization had asked for time to speak. The talk was concerned with what persons should do in case of bombings and how each family should have an air raid shelter. There was great concern expressed over the fact that the plans for the new grade school building did not include air raid shelters, and the CD leader told how glad she was that the local swimming pool had finally closed for the fall since they had no shelters to take care of the children in case the town was bombed.

As I glanced at the concern on the faces around me, I knew that I could not let my silence give consent, so I spoke out in protest. I didn't get a chance to say much, and the CD woman ended the discussion by saying that she hoped God would have mercy on me, and I refrained from saying that I hoped the same for her!

JEAN F. ROATH
LaSalle, Colorado

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